1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

581 unimportant; instead the man considers other factors such as his need for a wife, the marriage expenses including the bridewealth, and the physical attractiveness of the woman.

583 The previous relationship of the groom to the girl and her family can vary the bridewealth enormously. Often the groom, and/or his family, are acquainted with the girl, and/or her family, as neighbors and friends. When this is the case, then other factors tend to enter in to determine the bridewealth. But in a number of special and not uncommon situations, the groom is released from the bulk of the bridewealth or it is substantially lowered. If the girl is his cousin (the Kanuri [582] marry all cousins, although they claim it is not good to marry one's mother's sister's daughter) then he may find that only a small *sada'u* payment is necessary. About [584] one-fifteenth of all Kanuri marriages are of this kind, and of these about one-fifth involve unions in which the little cousin was promised to the boy when she was an infant at the time that he was circumcised, roughly about puberty. At that time he becomes her *luwali* or the dispenser of her marriage rights and can arrange for her future husband or marry her himself when she reached puberty. In other cases the 583 groom is a dependent or client of the girl's *luwali* (usually her father) and the 581 marriage tends to cement the relationship between him and the father even further. Indeed many subordinates of "big men" in Bornu think of their superiors as being obliged to help them find a wife. In such a case the groom may assume only a small portion of the expenses, or the wife-to-be is a daughter or relative of the superior and the latter depresses the payments purposely, so his subordinate can marry. In a few cases girls are given to *mallams* (koranic teacher-priests) and no bridewealth is required. Such unions are called "marriages of charity" and the *luwali* who abrogates his rights to bridewealth in this fashion is considered to be a pious man. In actual practice it is not very common. This is seen in the marriage histories of the *mallams* themselves who may have married once in five or six times this way but rarely more than that. *Mallams* claim that they do not like it because it makes them obligated to the wife-giver for free prayers, constant officiating as a religious leader in the household of the *luwali*, and so on, so that they avoid such charity in order to maintain their independence. This avoidance is mitigated if they are already members of the *luwali's* household and the marriage is simply cementing the relationship.

583 The bargaining abilities on both sides of the marriage can also determine the bridewealth. The groom's representatives are told by the girl's family, through her *luwali*, that the groom can expect many gifts which will compensate for an elaborate and expensive wedding. The groom's representatives tell the woman and her relatives, especially her *luwali*, of the groom's qualities, especially his kindness and generosity, his wealth and expectations of more, his potentialities as a successful man, and his connection through friends, through his own services, and relatives to very important people. On his side, the *luwali* speaks of the benefits to be gained by marriage to this particular girl and slowly the bridewealth payment, especially the *luwaliram*, emerges at a set price. On her first wedding night, a pre- [585] viously unmarried girl also bargains at great length in order to bid up a special consummation fee that is her right.

If the marriage arrangements take place in the autumn, or around harvest time, it is assumed that the man will have more cash than at other times. Thus the

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

price at this time of year for nearly everything, including weddings and bride-wealth, goes up.

When all the exchanges are completed everyone participating in a wedding gets some present of money, food, and clothing. The *luwali,* especially at first marriages, gets the bulk of the bridewealth and distributes the rest to the girl's family both on her mother's and her father's side. After the first marriage the girl tends to keep more and more of the bridewealth for herself, giving the *luwali* what amounts to a fee for serving as the official bride-giver. It is also important to note that when there are disputes between a husband and wife, the first person to whom both turn for arbitration is the *luwali.*

The Kanuri think of getting married in several ways. First of all they divide all marriages into first marriages (to take a girl or a small girl), and secondary marriages with a divorced woman (to take a woman or to take a divorced woman). First marriages take place for a girl around the time of puberty, while boys do not marry until they are in their late teens or early twenties, and young men of twenty-eight and twenty-nine who have not yet been married are not hard to find.

An interesting sidelight on marriage with previously unmarried young girls is the ambivalence men feel about it. Men obtain much prestige from such a marriage. But its cost invariably puts a man into great debt, and consummation of the marriage itself, traditionally, is a semi-public affair in which old women related to the girl sit outside the marriage hut and whisper to their newly-wed relative that she must resist the advances of her husband. They do this until very late at night or until they are given some proof of the girl's virginity by the husband. They then make a fearful clatter in the town or village to announce the premarital chastity of their young relative. Standards of personal appearance and sexual attraction are important to Kanuri men and center on more sexually mature women. Such standards deal with hair style, facial symmetry, type of walk, and other physical attributes and skills, as well as ability at wifely chores. None of these attributes are in any degree well-developed among young girls, so that the man must control himself and almost publicly proclaim his manhood and sexual prowess with a young girl who is not defined as sexually exciting by the culture. This causes much anxiety and I have seen men praying almost continually for several weeks in order to gain the strength to carry out a virgin's consummation. It is important to note that when some western educated Kanuri talk about marriage they immediately fasten on this semi-public consummation of the girl's first marriage as a custom that will be dropped in the future, and certainly one they do not intend to carry out or even allow in their lives. From the girl's point of view, as education in western-style schools becomes more common and the length of time in school increases, then the time of first marriage for the girls will move ahead. At present however there are only a handful of Kanuri girls who attend schools beyond the age of traditional marriage.

But what is the basis for the conflict? Why are men willing to suffer to gain such an unattractive wife? Men always explain it in the same way. A young girl has never been touched sexually by other men; he is the first; he can train her as he likes, and teach her to be a proper wife to suit his own personal wishes. Besides, it is a good Muslim custom, they always add, as they do about almost every custom when they are asked. In this case they are correct, for such young marriages are very

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

585 widespread throughout the Islamic world. However there is more to it than that—
570 indeed it comes close to the heart of the Kanuri way of looking at things. Kanuri
229 social life is a constant search for fruitful social contacts in which one man is the
[571] superior and the other a subordinate to him. Between the sexes, the culture defines
562 women as inferior in rank to men. Thus the place universally available to all men
577 for the achievement of subordinates is the family and the household, and the ideal
581 female subordinate is a young girl, one who has not yet been divorced, that is re-
829 jected her subordination to her husband, and one whom the husband can train to become properly obedient to his own personal wishes. Thus marriage to a previously unmarried girl symbolizes what every man wants, not sexually, but socially; unblemished and complete obedience from docile subordinates who receive material benefits in return for subordination. Seen in this light the marriage with young girls
[183] then becomes more understandable for it represents some of the most profoundly important values in the society.

587 Most Kanuri do not, however, marry girls who have never been married before. Generally they marry a *zower*—or divorced woman. This is carried out with much less ceremony than the virgin marriage. Men may see a divorced woman they like and simply send a friend who asks if she would like to marry. Or the men may begin an affair with her, give her market money once a week just as he would a wife, and then during this time decide whether or not he and this woman should
[837] proceed towards a marriage. Such liaisons are considered formally to be illegal extramarital relations, but in everyday life they are tolerated as a form of courtship. Harsh approbation is directed toward sexual relations by a man with another man's wife. Thus although a very few men claim to remain chaste in their relations with a divorced woman, most men agree that there is nothing seriously the matter with a discreet affair with such a person.

593 As Muslims the Kanuri also think of marriage as a relationship involving
562 more or less *purdah*, or wifely confinement within the household. Generally, it is made quite clear before the marriage begins just how much constraint the husband expects. And for the most part such restrictions are positively related to the class
[554] and status of the husband. Thus the higher the status of the husband, the greater the probability of almost total confinement on the part of the wife. Certainly all Kanuri men would like their wives to remain inside the compound, however very few can afford to insist. To do so necessitates that there must be a well inside the compound, enough wealth so that the husband does not require the wife's work in the fields, and enough help so that he can send a male servant or client along with her on the few occasions when it becomes absolutely necessary for her to go out.

582 The Kanuri themselves categorize a few other forms of marriage on the basis of the relations already existing between the partners, or being set up by the marriage. They speak of cousin marriage, marriage with a religious practitioner, marriage with a wealthy or powerful person (a marriage of pleasure) as varieties
587 of unions. They also mention the possibility of the sororate (marriage with a person called sister by one's dead wife) and the levirate (marriage by the younger brother of his dead brother's wife or wives). These latter are quite rare, and I have only recorded one case of the levirate in the last ten years, and none of the sororate.
595 Kanuri think marriage with wife's sister, or person she calls sister while she is still

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

571 576 mutters "yes, yes, yes" while his superior is talking but keeps his eyes cast downwards; to very powerful superiors like the Shehu he must not talk directly at all, but to an intermediary. Wives of such persons are treated like senior in-laws. Indeed, given the traditional practice of giving wives to clients, often from among one's own daughters, it is quite possible that the wife of a superior will one day become the mother-in-law of a client subordinate.

571 576 602 As a person grows up in his family, he also learns that there are some people with whom he can have very permissive relations. The ideal person is a grandparent, although a similar relationship exists between a spouse and all of his younger in-laws. A young boy can go to his grandfather's house and take things, pull his grandfather's beard, and generally misbehave, all the while receiving only a pat on the head for such licentiousness. Sex differences do not count here although there is sexual joking especially in the relations between a person and a junior in-law of the opposite sex. Later in life young boys and girls learn that such joking (*suli*) is a special form of interaction that can also be carried out between traditionally competitive occupational groups and traditionally hostile ethnic groups. On an individual basis one person in such a relationship calls the other "grandson" and the "grandson," being the younger, calls the older man "grandfather." The Kanuri explain that this helps to alleviate any tensions which may develop between the persons in such groups who are natural competitors or by tradition hostile to one another.

571 572 593 602 Finally, in the extended family and the household a young person grows up with brothers, sisters, and cousins who are also called siblings. The closer the age and interests of "siblings" of the same sex, the greater the solidarity and friendship. During childhood the young person usually chooses a young age-mate from amongst his siblings or cousins as his *ashirmanzə* or "secrets man," the person who knows his most intimate thoughts, hopes, and fears. Later in life, he chooses other *ashirmanzə* from inside his kinship network and outside it. He learns the faculty of intimacy, however, in his youthful friendships in the family and the household.

571 867 626 The family and the household then are orbits in which ways of behaving are learned and these characteristic norms of behavior are used for wider-scale social relations throughout the individual's life. At the core of these relations is *bərzum* discipline-respect. As well shall see, Bornu is an interwoven set of economic and political hierarchies, and this relationship of *bərzum* serves as the chief mechanism for the proper functioning of these complex relations between superiors and their subordinates.

The Household

59 Kinship may form the biological and the behavioral basis for Kanuri society, but it does not provide a place for such relations to operate. The Kanuri live in cities, villages, and hamlets and the basic unit of organization in these settlements is the household, rather than the family or any set of kinship groups. Even though these may be synonymous in some cases, in many compounds family and household are certainly not the same, and the distinction is fundamental to an understanding of the society. Furthermore the household, or compound as it is sometimes called, is stable in comparison to the family. The family can be split, and

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

to seniors, first in the household then in the society at large, that is the most important social learning of childhood. Kanuri society is hierarchical. Whether the person is in one compound or another, one social situation or another, there is always one common feature—rank and its determinants, power and authority. By living in several compounds, by seeing authority at work in the community, and by learning to generalize his response to authority, the young child learns to respond easily and gracefully to many combinations of rank and position. His counterpart in western society may be learning how to cope with the intricacies of modern urban technology, but he would certainly be no match for his Kanuri counterpart in the diplomacy necessary in dealing with superiors.

Puberty

Puberty is not an age-grade in the same sense as childhood or adolesence. Yet it deserves some special attention because it is a marker that separates these two life periods and creates a means for very important transitions especially for young girls. Sometime between the age of twelve and fourteen most girls undergo their first marriage. Boys on the other hand begin their adolescence. This is a more carefree time for them than the period of intense training for adulthood that a girl is suddenly confronted with as she moves from childhood into her teenage period and marriage.

However there are no absolutely sharp breaks even for a girl. A newly married young girl is not considered totally grown-up and sometimes she continues to wear her hair in the childhood style. If she divorces during this early period, usually the first three or four years after her first marriage, people often speak of her as *njim suri* or one who is only beginning to become a woman but who has not completed the change-over to full adultlhood.[1] At first the young wife still sees many unmarried childhood friends who will soon be getting married themselves. They visit her when she is confined to the house for varying periods depending upon how secluded her husband wishes his wife to be. Only gradually over the period of the first year or so of marriage does the young girl begin to participate fully as a wife. From the first she cooks food regularly because it is her duty and her right, and as time goes on she is seen more and more in the company of the older, adult women of the compound and the neighborhood. If she is not in total seclusion, like most rural wives, then she can be seen going with the women to the well or the market, and to women's festivities in the village.

Although rare it sometimes happens that a girl misses the opportunity to marry while still in her early teens. Leaving aside the very few girls who go on in school, such cases are rather tragic. The girl is either mentally deficient or a disturbed person, or one who people say has been having love affairs before marriage. In such cases she changes her hair style in her middle to late teens and takes on the role of a single divorced woman seeking a new husband and therefore open to courtship and sexual liaisons with men.

In Magumeri one young girl about fifteen or sixteen who was well de-

[1] Literally *njim suri* means to have seen inside the hut, that is she has been alone with her husband but only seen or glimpsed at the activities of adulthood not really practiced them in full.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

they point to the major functions of the event. Certainly it marks publicly the opening of the gates on the road to manhood for the young man, but, much more importantly, it validates, strengthens and dramatizes the relational network of ties that the family and the household maintain and attempt to promote in the society.

At some of the larger ceremonies, especially those held by the high-ranking households in Bornu, there is often a small group of recent converts who ask to join the ceremony in order to mark their religious conversion and obtain full membership in Kanuri society. In one very large circumcision we saw forty-seven boys from high status households and ten Cameroon pagans ranging in age from fifteen to thirty-five. These latter seemed completely ecstatic to have been accepted at the ceremony and were the subject of much ribald joking by the Kanuri participants. However they now had an easier access to Kanuri women as wives and sweethearts, and it is conceivable that when they do in fact marry Kanuri women they and their descendants will eventually be absorbed into Kanuri society. Thus the circumcision ceremony is one of the important gateways into society for non-Moslems from the small tribes surrounding Bornu on its southern and southeastern borders.

As in many cultures around the world, the Kanuri themselves regard the circumcision ceremony as a mark of approaching manhood, and even though the boys are often quite young the ceremony still dramatizes their adult or approaching adult status. Thus after the boys have come out of confinement during which the cut heals, they are given whips which they brandish while chasing and threatening the young girls. The girls must "buy off" such treatment by giving the young boy a few pennies. This ritual was left unexplained by informants who answered questions about its meaning by saying, "We do this because it is our custom." However, it seems likely that it is a symbolic reference to the achievement of manhood or potential manhood. It symbolizes through ritual the cultural value of male dominance which the boys must now begin to practice as they prepare to join the ranks of adult men. The "buying off" of the beating by the little girls can be interpreted to reflect the flexibility of female submissiveness; a woman must behave submissively towards a man but she has levers to gain her own rights and wishes in her relationships with men.

Adolescence

As we have seen, there is an extra age-grade period for boys which lasts from around the time of circumcision to their first marriage between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. At first the young man is still thought of as a small boy, but as he advances into middle and late teenage years he becomes more of a *zairo*—that is to say, a young bachelor. He associates in his free time with other young men his age and begins to gossip about trade, politics, and nocturnal adventures with women. Young boys generally obtain their first sexual experience in their mid to late teenage period from divorced women who are often older than themselves. In their later teens and early twenties they begin to have more serious love affairs of longer duration with young divorced women who may turn out to be their future wives if their first marriages are not already arranged by their parents.

Sitting and listening to a group of these young men discussing matters of

779 593 Trimingham says, "...Islamic law recognizes only the simple matrimonial family of man, wife or wives, slaves, and their children, and the Malikite system gives absolute authority to the husband as its head."[1] The Kanuri exemplify this aspect of Islam. 779 595 The polygamous family is the sole kin unit of any significance.

779 595 567 Islam further dictates that a man may have no more than four wives, though he may have any number of concubines. A concubine (chir) is a slave taken by her master as a spouse. [554] Slaves have long existed as a stratum of Kanuri society, but only members of the Kanuri aristocracy have concubines. The status of the concubine is recognized by Islamic law.

779 582 With respect to marriage and the family, Islam permits or specifically prohibits a number of practices which, when taken together, exert a profound influence on social organization. Cousin marriage with both cross and parallel cousins, is permitted under Islamic law. 779 58 Sadak, strictly defined, is the Islamic marriage payment by the husband to the wife. It is her property, and is conceived of as payment for her virginity. Though not entirely equivalent to a bride-price, sadak becomes part of the bride-price. As indicated above, virginity at the [595] time of a girl's first marriage is strongly stressed. Seclusion of wives (kulle) is valued. The wali (Kanuri luwali) who represents the fathers of both parties at the signing of the

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1. Trimingham, ibid., p. 126.

584 boy; if she does not and refuses to marry him, the arrangements are for naught. The father cannot force the marriage, and marriages arranged solely by parents over the objection of the children, cannot take place.

• 582 369 Average age at which boys marry differs from the small villages to the larger towns. In the small villages boys marry young, and when they reach the age of eighteen or nineteen all are married. In the large towns and cities, boys marry after age twenty, and some do not marry until they reach thirty. Girls marry at the same age in the villages and in the cities.

582 If the girl's family is able to provide her with household equipment and clothing, she will marry at the age of eleven or twelve. If the family is poor she will marry slightly later, at the age of thirteen or fourteen. The minimum age of marriage for a girl is ten. A marriage at that age is possible, but the girl is con-

[833] sidered young. A husband usually waits before beginning to have sexual intercourse with a bride of such tender years. A boy

[591] may marry at the very young age of twelve or thirteen. If his father wishes to arrange such a marriage, he will build his son a house adjacent to his own, and husband and wife will grow up together. A boy will postpone marriage in order to accumulate money for a bride-price. If the father of a boy has no money to pay the bride-price for his son, the boy will postpone marriage for several years while father and son farm and save money. A girl never postpones marriage; by the age of fifteen almost all girls are married.

His first marriage fre-
582 quently is with a kalə yaskə, but this is not always the case.
[587] Many young men of poor families marry a zogor when they marry
[556] for the first time. Since polygamy is permitted, and under Islamic law a man may have as many as four wives, men of important and wealthy families take more than one wife, and prefer to marry a kalə yaskə each time.

885 302 It was mentioned that the kalə yaskə takes her name from the hair-do worn by girls before maturity. After marriage, with the permission of her young husband, she will have her hair redone according to the style which characterizes an adult woman. Thereafter she is not a kalə yaskə; she takes her place with
586 885 adults. Should she be divorced by her husband, she would return to the protection of her luwali. She is then eligible for marriage once again, though now she approaches the situation as a grown woman, and of course, one who is not inexperienced in sex.
[587] Attitudes attending the marriage of a kalə yaskə, and much of the ceremony involved, are no longer appropriate when a zogor marries.

586 A woman who becomes a zogor suddenly finds that she has a great deal of freedom in her behavior. Her luwali, or some older friend or relative, provides her with a room in his household,
[535] and men come to court her. She participates in the frequent outdoor dancing in which only zogors take a part since no self-
584 587 respecting husband would permit his wife to dance publicly. An unmarried man enters into a relationship with a zogor which
[431] ideally should end in their marriage. If he is not already married, he comes to visit the zogor regularly, bringing her presents of clothing and jewelry. It is accepted that a man court-

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128 within that community. This section, then, is a particularization of the section on social organization in the preceding chapter. It will deal with kinship in an urban community; the data on which the present discussion is based are taken from a sample of individuals (the construction of which will be discussed later) chosen from the community of Geidam. It should be considered against the more general background provided earlier.

Much of the data in this section are presented in the form of tables, wherein individuals are grouped into categories which are contrasted with each other. There are eight groupings in all, and each stands for a category within Kanury social structure which is significantly represented in the town of Geidam. At this point in the discussion, all of the categories should be readily recognizable since their roles in the community have previously been described and discussed. In the following chapter, Chapter IV, they will be considered in yet another context as the problem of acculturation will be treated in terms of categories in Kanuri social structure. At that time, the manner in which the various categories were selected, and the choice of individuals who make up the categories will be described in detail.

1. Marriage.

• 582 369 It had been mentioned earlier that boys in the small villages marry earlier than they do in the cities. It may be seen

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582 from Table VI that in the Geidam sample the median age of marriage is 20.25 (mean age is 21.35), but that the range is very great, extending from one individual who married at the age of twelve to one who was not married until the age of thirty-five.

582 463 565 Of the eight categories presented in Table VI, only one seems to differ considerably from the norm in age of marriage, that one being the Canteen Traders. Four of the six in that category married later than the median age, two as late as age twenty-eight. This is interesting because the standard explanation for late marriage is that the individual must work to save money for a bride-price. However, Talaka seem to marry rather early while wealthy traders marry late. This would lead one to suspect that there is also a proportion of individuals who delay marriage until they consider themselves capable of supporting (or needing) a wife, and that this delay results in late marriage for a number of young men who might well have afforded the basic bride-price years earlier.

595 Table VII presents data on the number of wives had by each of forty-four men. Exactly half of the men in the sample have one wife; sixteen men have two wives; one has three and two have four wives; three have no wives--one of these is twenty-five years old and has not yet married--and the other two divorced wives not long ago. Only two men have concubines: Yerima Mustapha has five, and one wife; while Malam Ali Mandara, the Chief

595 565 554 463 Scribe, has one concubine given to him by Kaigama. Comparing the mean number of wives for the various groups, it is clear

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Table VI

Age at First Marriage

	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	...	35
Aristocracy							1		1		1		2									
Koranic Malams							1					1		1								
Canteen Traders							1		1				1	1			2					
NA Malams						2		1	1			1					1					
Kabuna				1		1	1					1		1								1
Craftsmen				1	2				1										1	1		
Talaka						3	1		1		1	1		1								
Low-status	1								1					1								
Totals:	1	-	-	2	2	6	5	1	6	-	2	4	3	5	-	-	3	-	1	1		1

median age = 20.25

mean age = 21.35

[GEIDAM]

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Table VII
Present Number of Wives

	0	1	2	3	4	concubines	Mean No. of wives
Aristocracy	-	3	2	-	-	1	1.4
Koranic Malams	-	1	2	-	-	-	1.7
Canteen Traders	-	-	3	1	2	-	2.8
NA Malams	-	3	3	-	-	1	1.5
Kabuna	1	1	4	-	-	-	1.5
Craftsmen	-	4	2	-	-	-	1.3
Talaka	1	7	-	-	-	-	.88
Low-status	1	3	-	-	-	-	.75
Total no.	3	22	16	1	2	2	

that the canteen traders have significantly more wives as a group, while the talaka and the low status individuals have significantly fewer wives. Among the canteen traders are found the only two individuals who have four wives; among the talaka and the low status individuals none have more than one wife and two do not have any.

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The many differences between marrying a kalə yaskə (virgin) and a zogor (divorced woman) have been discussed at some length. Table VIII presents data on the percentage of zogor and kalə yaskə among the present wives of individuals in the sample. Under a (Present Wives) it can be seen that the first four categories have married predominantly kalə yaskəs while the bottom four have overwhelmingly married zogors. The cultural ideal is for a young man to marry a kalə yaskə at his first marriage. Most individuals in each of the eight categories have in fact

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 201]

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Table VIII

Whether Marriage was with a Kalə Yaskə or a Zogor

	a. Present wives		b. First wife		c. All previous wives	
	kalə yaskə	zogor	kalə yaskə	zogor	kalə yaskə	zogor
Aristocracy	6	1	5	--	16	10
Koranic Malams	5	-	3	-	10	-
Canteen Traders	12	5	4	2	19	19
NA Malams	7	2	3	3	15	16
Kabuna	1	7	4	2	7	31
Craftsmen	1	7	4	2	5	38
Talaka	-	7	5	3	6	64
Low-status	-	3	1	2	2	22
Totals:	32	32	29	14	80	200

[GEIDAM]

582 done this (see b - First wife), so that twice as many first
587 marriages (29) were with kalə yaskəs than with zogors (14).
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554 On the other hand, in the many subsequent marriages into which
463 the members of this sample entered (see c - All previous wives), many more were with zogors (200) than with kalə yaskəs (80). It is evident that talaka and low status individuals tend overwhelmingly to marry zogors after their initial first marriage since of subsequent marriages only two were with kalə yaskəs, while eighty-one were with zogors. On the other hand, the four upper categories tend to marry kalə yaskəs more frequently than
[792] zogors. This is particularly striking for the category of Ko-
ranic Malams, all of whose ten marriages have been with kalə
[163] yaskəs. This is significant because, as will be noted below, the Koranic Malams are blessed with many children while other people have relatively few.

593 Table IX presents data on the seclusion of wives. The
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Table IX

Whether wife is secluded (kule)

	kule	partly kule	not kule
Aristocracy	4	1	-
Koranic malams	2	1	-
Canteen Traders	6	-	-
NA Malams	6	-	-
Kabuna	1	1	3
Craftsmen	-	-	6
Talaka	1	-	6
Low-status	-	-	3
Totals:	20	3	18

*177 than Kanuri, and communication with the managers of the various
191 trading companies in Geidam is in Hausa. Knowledge of Hausa
441 among the Kanuri canteen operators is reflected in their atti-
• [582] tudes towards the Hausa generally. This can be seen in the
willingness of the Canteen Operators to marry Hausa women (see
*177 Table XXXV). Hausa is also the language of the colonial
648 bureaucracy in Northern Nigeria, and all Europeans in adminis-
191 tration have learned to speak Hausa. The number of Kanuri
*563 speakers among the European administrative personnel in Bornu
+634 Province is negligible. Therefore most of the Aristocracy
*177 and all of the NA Malams speak Hausa. In the remaining five
*565 groups, 11 individuals speak Hausa and 16 do not. Most of
191 the lower class groups do not have much contact with Hausas
and consequently do not speak their language.

*177 With respect to knowledge of English, the picture is even
191 more clear-cut. Only seven people in the sample speak English.
*[565] One aristocrat (Yerima Mustapha) speaks a little English, and
+[634] the entire group of NA Malams, all having been educated in Euro-
pean-style schools, speak English. No one else has any knowl-
edge of the language.

It is interesting to note that knowledge of other languages is a common occurrence in this area. Fifteen cases of speakers of six additional languages are found in this small sample. Of course a few individuals speak several languages, while others speak only Kanuri. There are six speakers of Shuwa Arabic, and five speakers of Fulani represented. There are almost as many

*177 NA Malams would like their sons to do NA work like their fathers.
*463 Four of the Kabuna would like their sons to do NA work, and none
*829 want their sons to be Kabuna like their fathers (column 8). The
*554 Craftsmen exhibit a preference for their sons to become Koranic
*[634] Malams. The Talaka are divided between NA work and becoming
*[565] Koranic Malams, and none in this group wants his son to do what he himself is doing. In contrast, 2 of the 4 Low-status individuals would like their sons to engage in the same occupation as that of their fathers, despite the low status which individuals in those occupations enjoy. The butcher (*m) does not wish his son to become a butcher. He says, "I'm a butcher; that's enough." But the drummer (*n) shows a love for his work which only another creative artist can truly appreciate, whatever his culture.

*177 The final behavioral area to be investigated is that of
*.582 marriage. Table XXXV is concerned with willingness to marry someone from another culture. Willingness to involve one's self with members of another culture would tend to foster close contacts with that culture. Resistance to such involvement would inhibit contact. Marriage, or willingness to marry out, may be used as a measure of interpersonal and intercultural contacts.

Column 1 records answers to the question: would you marry a non-Kanuri woman? Twenty-five individuals (56 per cent) said that they would be willing; nineteen (43 per cent) said that they
*[565] would not. Two groups show great tolerance in their attitude:
*[634]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 320]

[GEIDAM] - 319 -

Table XXXV

24, 25. Willingness to marry out: willingness to marry a non-Kanuri; willingness to marry a Hausa, a Fulani, a Moslem Babur, a Moslem Yoruba.

	1. Non-Kanuri		2. Hausa		3. Fulani		4. Babur		5. Yoruba	
	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no
Aristocracy	4	1	3	2	3	2	3	2	4	1
Koranic Malams	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1
Canteen Operators	3	3	4*	2	-	6	1	5	-	6
NA Malams	6	-	4	2	4	2	4	2	2	4
Kabuna	3	3	2	4	2	4	2	4	1	5
Craftsmen	2	4	1	5	1	5	1	5	1	5
Talaka	3	5	3	5	1	7	4	4	2	6
Low-status Individuals	2	2	-	4	-	4	-	4	-	4
Totals	25	19	19	25	13	31	17	27	12	32

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463*
554*
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* a canteen operator stated that he would marry a Hausa woman, but only if she wore her hair in the Kanuri fashion.

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the Aristocracy (80 per cent would) and the NA Malams (100 per cent would). In contrast, among the Craftsmen only 33 per cent would marry out and among the Talaka only 38 per cent would marry out. *The four remaining groups do not show clear-cut* preferences.

The remainder of the table is concerned with the attitudes of the sample towards marriage with women of four tribes. Since it was anticipated that few, if any, individuals would indicate willingness to marry a white woman, or a non-Moslem, the choices which were offered were limited to tribes who are all present in the area and who are known to the people of the community of Geidam. The Fulani are all Moslem and the Hausa almost all Moslem; in the case of the Babur and the Yoruba who are partly Moslem, the question was specifically phrased: would you marry a Moslem Yoruba, or a Moslem Babur woman?

It may be seen from the table that willingness to marry women of the four tribes which were selected varies, though in no case do the members of the sample appear to be as willing to marry from the tribes offered them in the question as the answers to the previous question (column 1) would indicate. The most popular tribe was the Hausa, and 43 per cent said they would marry a Hausa woman. The next in order of popularity was the Babur tribe, a part-Moslem, part-pagan people living in Bornu Province and strongly acculturated to the Kanuri; 38 per cent indicated willingness to marry a Babur woman. Fewer people are willing to marry a Fulani woman; though the Fulani

[GEIDAM]

177 582 186 are Moslems like the Kanuri, they are pastoralists who live in the bush and differ greatly from the urban Geidamites; 30 per cent would marry a Fulani woman. The least popular choice was the Yoruba woman, selected by only 27 per cent of the sample. Though the Yoruba who live in Northern Nigeria are all urban people, and the question referred specifically to Moslem Yoruba who are numerous, the Yoruba are generally identified as a southern tribe of very different background.

[565] Considering each group in turn, the Aristocracy are noteworthy in their willingness to marry Yoruba women, whom they seem to prefer above the other three choices. This might be attributed to their wider orientation as a group. The Koranic Malams show no difference in their preferences among the four [441] tribes. The Canteen Operators are almost unanimous in rejecting three of the four tribes, yet a majority of them (67 per cent) would marry a Hausa woman. This curious and striking result can be explained quite simply by looking at the role of the Canteen Operators. Their normal activities in trade bring them into contact with Hausas and they all speak Hausa. Because of the frequency of their interaction with members of that culture they show a willingness to marry Hausa women. This does not extend to women of other tribes in the form of a general willingness to marry out, as can readily be seen by their [634] responses in columns 3, 4, and 5. The NA Malams are willing to marry with women of three of the tribes, including the unpopular Fulani, but unlike the Aristocracy they are not willing to marry

[GEIDAM]

a Yoruba woman. The Kabuna are an intermediate group, and show little variability in their preferences. The Craftsmen are very consistent in their resistance to marriage with women of any of the tribes offered to them. The Talaka on the other hand show a wide variation in their attitudes towards the four tribes. They are almost unanimous (88 per cent) in their objection to marriage with a Fulani woman, but one half would marry a Babur woman. Presumably urban versus rural factors and the degree of acculturation towards Kanuri culture which the Babur have demonstrated would lead Talaka to favor the Babur and oppose the Fulani. The Low-status Individuals are the only completely unanimous group in this respect. None of them would marry women from any of the four tribes offered to them.

Another aspect of marriage is willingness to marry an educated woman. Responses to the question: would you marry a Kanuri woman who had gone to school and who spoke English, are presented in Table XXXVI. Most people (73 per cent) said that they would marry an educated woman. Reasons offered for marrying such a woman mention the usefulness of a knowledge of English and the money which a wife of that sort could earn. Two people note that they would marry such a wife only if she prayed regularly, implying that Western education is often accompanied by a decline in piety and the practice of religious ritual. In opposing marriage with such a woman, people state that an educated wife would be a better and more accomplished person than

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 324]

553 other as chuwuna and refer and act towards one another in a similar
571 fashion to that of grandparents and grandchildren. For parents this becomes an avenue for showing affection to a collateral relative or a close friend in much the same way as we appoint our own children's
553 god-parents. This naming custom is also a means of establishing
557 profitable relations both for the parents (especially the father) and for the child. Consequently, in the Kanuri state there are a great many children called after District Heads, aristocrats of the state, rich men, and people in high status positions generally. The previous chief of Magumeri District had been a particularly beneficent and popular political leader of the area. When he departed to take up residence in another District he left in his wake a large number of children who had been named after him. The reason for giving names in this way is not only to flatter or honour the person
[597] involved. There is a very conscious awareness that the namesake relation includes the possibility of adoption as frequently occurs in the case of the grandparent-grandchild relation. Thus there is in this extension outwards and often upwards of the chuwuna relation an attempt to better or at least increase the social relations of the family and especially, it is hoped, of the child.

607 There is a joking relationship between ego and his spouse's younger siblings, real and classificatory, of either sex.
[601] Informants are emphatic in denying that it is possible even in joking
[582] to call Wi-Yo-Sis "wife" or "little wife" as do the Hausa.(1) Marriage with Wi-Yo-Sis is taboo unless the present wife is dead. Informants

(1) Smith, M.G., op. cit. p. 43

607 Informants
[587] say that marriage with a dead wife's sister is a possibility and some called it a "good thing", but no such unions were ever recorded [601] in the field. To jokingly call Wi-Yo-Sis, "wife" carries an implication of the present wife's death, and such joking is stringently avoided. Exactly the same conditions for the same reasons apply to the joking relations between a woman and her husband's younger brothers. Although the joking takes many forms the most common is for ego to joke about obtaining a sexual and/or a marriage partner for his spouse's younger siblings.

605 There is a joking relationship which takes place between [601] cross-cousins of opposite sex. It takes the following form. Ego (male speaking) jokes with his matrilateral junior cross-cousin of opposite sex, calling her wife, concubine, lover, etc., and she returns the joke calling him slave, husband, lover, etc., and extracting joking money (kungana sulibe) from him on the Sala Laya (roughly the New Year). This brings on a kind of play behaviour with the younger siblings of ego's cousin which follows the adult rules of marriage. That is to say, a joking relation with Wi-Yo-Siblings who in this case are his junior cross-cousins as well as being his 605 joking-wife's younger siblings. Thus he will call them tiu (junior 601 in-laws) and refer to them (in the situation) as tiunyi (my junior in-laws). Ego may change his joking-wife from time to time if there are many female junior cross-cousins, but he will call only one of them wife at any one time, arranging her younger siblings 605 into tiu (junior in-laws). This follows the adult practice of only [582] marrying one of the available cousins at one time. Given no joking-wife among the matri-kin, ego may go through exactly the same joking

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429 economic subordinates more closely to the exercise of his power and authority. In cases where this is less of a consideration (e.g. in marriages between peasant households) then the sheer economic benefit of the marriage to the luwali becomes the primary determinant in the
• 582 decision. Among peasants it is not considered desirable to marry with
565 traditionally regarded low status persons (male or female speaking) such as drummers-entertainers, slaves, butchers, blacksmiths, tanners, petty brokers, or anyone whose birth is considered illegitimate (conceived out
[848] of wedlock). This results in a certain amount of endogamy among these occupation groups excluding illegitimates who are pariahs in the eyes of all.

582 Kanuri marriages are governed by the following rules of incest. Marriages with parents or their siblings, own full or half siblings are forbidden, and this rule carries over to compounds into which ego's parents have remarried where no real biological relationship with ego's parent's new spouse's children obtains. It is culturally prescribed that ego (a male) may not marry a matrilateral parallel cousin, although several upper class informants felt that this was a custom of the people and not a Muslim ordinance. No marriages of the latter variety were observed during the field research. It is considered wrong (i.e. shameful) to marry wives of consanguinal kin of any generation after they have divorced ego's kin member. No reason was given for this rule, but no exceptions to its practice were observed.

It is considered inappropriate for a man to marry a woman older than himself. But age is known in only a vague general way and most men claim they are married to women younger than themselves.

836
589 During his adolescence and increasingly so as he grows older, a young man strikes up liaisons with divorced women who are looking for

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[589] husbands. These women (sower) are sexually available to all men, and are given gifts and market money for the sexual privileges they grant. The typical adolescent male has his first sexual experiences with a woman older than himself. However, when he decides to marry he usually tries to find a woman of roughly his own or of a junior age group.

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581 First marriage marks the beginning of adult status for a man. The event announces and enables a move towards semi-independence which is aided and abetted by the avoidance relation between his father and his wife, as well as by the subject-matter avoidance of his marriage in conversations with his parents. Furthermore, he now commands an independent source of cooked food, which he can use for hospitality and its return, whereas previously he was obliged to others for this service. Kanuri males consider this to be one of the most important reasons for getting married, especially at the lower ranks of society.

885 To understand the value placed on this function of marriage it must be
581 realized that men from about the age of fifteen or sixteen onwards like
264 to eat in the company of other men. Without a wife, a young man must
437 join a group of eaters one (or more) of whose wives prepare the food. For this privilege he is obligated to the food provider, an obligation which may include hoeing his farm, going on messages for him, helping him repair his compound, etc. With a wife a young man can return eating favours on the same terms, thus equating himself to his hosts and creating obligation (a) for return meals from men who have wives, and (b)
581 of a diffuse nature from men who have none. It will be shown later that a wife is also valued as a socio-economic asset in the determination of her husband's productive capacities.

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434 Today, almost all men in rural areas, and many in the city, derive some of the money for marriage from the cash crop. This determines

As a man and woman grow older they demand and are given progressively more independence of choice in all matters including marriage. This is more likely among the peasants. For here second marriages are not as likely to be used as mechanisms for creating, strengthening and maintaining relationship by the girl's luwali to whom it is traditional to return on the occasion of divorce. It is more likely that the upper class woman will come under the power and authority of her luwali in subsequent marriages than the lower class person who is left freer to make her own liaisons. The upper class woman although not in purda during her divorced status must be much more delicate and restrained about her movements. This necessity to maintain an appearance of probity lends itself more easily to the manipulation of the upper class woman by her luwali after her first one or two divorces than does the relative freedom of the lower class woman. Among all classes an extremely young divorcee of under fifteen is almost sure to have little freedom of choice for her second husband, although cases of such early divorce are rare.

582 [561] 587 565 557 [589]

During the harvest season (November to February) divorced women (sower) are more serious about trying to pin down one of the temporary liaisons to marriage. Men at this season are similarly inclined but tend to shop around a little before settling on one choice, unless their minds were made up before the harvest season opened. With a few exceptions (notably female) both sexes consider married status desirable and for a man, having two wives is better than having one. The exceptions to this rule are women who are either very attractive to men and thus enjoy themselves economically and sexually as unmarried women, and/or women who refuse to give up their independence for marriage. These factors are often related and as we shall see there is room for the expression of all of them within marriage. Men marry if their harvest

581 [585] [221] [595] [589]

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565 the luxury of female seclusion to the degree that their wives' only functions are sexual intercourse, raising children, and preparing food. Generally speaking women value the higher status conferred by such marriages. However one woman in Magumeri felt that she had very little social life and complained of loneliness. She claimed that a secluded marriage in the city is preferable because there are more women of her class to visit her and more special events for her to attend.

582 The Kanuri practise preferential cousin marriage (nyia durbe.). Such unions are possible with the offspring of father's brothers and sisters, and mother's brothers. Interview material and genealogical data indicate that roughly 1/4 of all males questioned have married a cousin at some time. However most males marry from three to six times during their lives which reduces the incidence to about 1/20 of all marriages contracted. No person questioned had ever married more than one of his available cousins. Most of these were older men between the ages of 45 and 60, although two younger unmarried males stated that they intended to marry a cousin.(1)

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565
596 For the most part the older men who had practised preferential marriage were either upper class members or connected to patrilocal extended family groupings with fairly long associations to the household unit in which they lived. Although they could not give the names of their third and fourth ascendant generation members, long since dead, they knew that these had lived in this same place. The evidence therefore points to a higher incidence of cousin marriage in relation to upper class status and settled patrilocal family life in one locality.

(1) Both of these men married in 1957, one to the expected cousin, the other to a high ranking official's daughter. The one who married his cousin had a higher social status to begin with than the one who did not.

582 In almost half the cases of cousin marriages recorded they are first marriages for the man. On the other hand it is quite rare, female speaking, for cousin marriage to be anything but a first marriage. 582 This is due to the usual method of inception in which the girl is promised as a small child to the boy at his circumcision. If the young girl 584 is given to the boy and comes to live with him in his compound then he [304] is more in the position of guardian to her, or adoptive father, and marriage does not result. If the girl remains in her own compound, or in others, the boy may marry her. In either case he has the primary rights of marriage dispensation over her from that time on. One informant described his own experience with the girl he was just about to marry in the following terms:

582 When I was kaja (circumcised) the girl was given to me; she was
584 only eighteen or nineteen months old at that time; she had been
304 weaned about one month. When I was kaja, they gave me a spear,
881 a watch, a ring, a sword, many robes, and a fine hat (the informant is the eldest son of a well established Village Head). Then my abagana (Fa-Yo-Bro) came and said, "Stand up". We were thirty-five kaja boys at that time, all clothed and taken care of by my father; my father has many chu'una (namesakes). (The informant means here that his father had given each of the boys a robe, he also means that some of the thirty-five boys were being totally supported by his father). My father's mother sat very close to me; she raised me as a child. She said, "Do not stand up for your abagana (Fa-Yo-Bro) unless he gives you his girl." All my family and friends came and brought many gifts. Then my abagana came and put two pounds into my pocket, and said, "Stand up", and I said to him, "No you must finish our custom." After a while he said to me, "I give my girl Palmatta to you". Then my father's mother said, "We agree with you, and she is now our girl."

Today this custom can be practised any time after the circumcision by mutual agreement of the parties involved, although traditionally it is supposed to be carried out at the circumcision.

587 In the one case observed of a non-virgin cousin marriage the
567 informant was a slave of very low status who had married a divorced wo-
[593] man who was his Mo-Bro-Da (she was not a slave). The woman was extremely

587 independent and dominated the marriage completely. A situation she
567 found easier because of her cousin's low status and his general tim-
593 idity as a person.

582 One of the primary functions of cousin marriage is its maintenance and strengthening of already existing relationships. One informant exemplified this generalisation by saying that he wanted to practise cousin marriage because the girl was his kèrami (younger sibling), the dauther of his Fa-Ol-Bro. Therefore she would never tell embarrassing things about him or complain of him outside his own group. This results from the fact that her agnatic relations, to whom she [602] would presumably gossip, are his as well. In other words, by contracting this kind of marriage the informant was avoiding any intimate relations with an agnatic group other than his own, and he liked the idea. All informants agreed upon the tougher texture of such marriages. One informant explained that he was marrying his cousin (his Fa-Bro-Da) so that he could maintain close relations to his parents with whom he had [606] ceased to live. He said that his father, although he could ordinarily never enter a hut alone with his son's wife, could now do so because she was also his brother's daughter. The same thing occurs in other marriage taboos with in-laws. Thus the restrictions on marriage behaviour are relaxed, and the total amount of interaction among the affines is much greater and friendlier while no new relationships are created.

581 In practice, although universal lip-service is paid to the
582 desirability of cousin marriage, its low incidence indicates its low popularity among a majority of the people.(1) In discussing the matter

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(1) The nature of cousin marriage contraction, i.e. at puberty ceremonies, plus the fact that it is mostly from older men that records of cousin marriages are obtained, suggests that this custom has been declining in practice in the last two decades.

581 In discussing the matter
582 further, informants always point out the relative difficulty of divorce
602 in such marriages as well as the lack of personal independence. The woman's relatives, who are also ego's (male speaking), always try to patch up the differences between her and ego, and scold him for not being "good" to his little sister. On the other hand, the move towards semi-independence, signalled by marriage, is restricted by cousin marriage. In-law avoidance which draws a man to his wife, and she to him as a social unit set apart from their own descent backgrounds, is much weakened in this kind of union, which makes it more difficult for a man to express any individual independence of his kin group.

582 The next type of marriage to be considered is the nyis kam
557 rukatabe (marriage of pleasure). The expression means marriage to a man of wealth or high status, i.e. marriage with one of his daughters or with one of the girls over whom he has rights of marriage dispensation. The closer the girl comes to being the actual biological daughter of the wealthy and/or high ranking man, the more highly valued the marriage becomes. The term also describes marriage to a wealthy and/or high ranking woman.

One common form of this marriage occurs in the following manner. A person subservient to a powerful household head may need a wife and make this known to the household head, as he invariably does, along with all of his other requirements. The superior then give his subordinate a girl from among the marriageable girls of the household, to whom the household head stands in the relation of luwali. By so doing, the household head strengthens his ties with his subordinate by extending their relation to include father-in-law/son-in-law.(1) It will

608 (1) Ego always behaves to his wife's luwali in the same manner as he does to his wife's biological father, whether the roles are occupied by the same person or not.

• 582
557 be remembered that a bride's family is traditionally of higher status than a groom's. In this situation we see the perfect fit to the tra-
ditional evaluation of status between a man (and his group) and his in-
[583] laws. The bridewealth is usually not excessive since the entire set of arrangements takes place within the extended household organization of one wealthy and/or high ranking man. This does not mean that the groom must live inside the superior's household, for the organization may encompass a group of households. The arrangement parallels the form of cousin marriage since two members within one organization are being married, rather than members from two separate and distinct organizations.

Another way of doing the same thing would be for the household head to find a girl from among the households of his friends or relatives and initiate the arrangements for a marriage between his subordinate and the girl in question. In this case the superior would almost certainly help the subordinate with gifts and loans of money. This kind of behaviour is very similar to that of a father obtaining a wife for his young unmarried son who lives in the father's compound. Consequently when a powerful household head arranges such a wedding for his subordinate he is acting like a father to his follower. Informants noted the similarity when they spoke of this kind of behaviour.

Where no strong relationship exists between two males a high ranking person may single out some individual, junior to himself in status, with whom he wishes to obtain a relationship and give him a fero (daughter, ward, girl), in order to create some obligation as a basis for their relations into the future. As a general rule the superior uses his powers of dispensation to maintain, create and strengthen supportive subordinates, while the subordinate invests his subservience to obtain the fruits of his superior's powers of dispensation.

582 557 For example, in 1930 the District Head of Mobber, who was in grave danger of being dismissed from his position by the British, contracted a marriage with a daughter of the Waziri of Bornu.(1) This was his own way, the Kanuri way, of attempting to strengthen his waning political position in the State. He felt that a marriage link between himself and the household of the Waziri would make it more difficult for the higher powers to dispose of him, and would enlist the aid of the Waziri, the second most powerful man in the Kanuri political organization, on his behalf. The British administration, however, did not take into account the feelings of fathers-in-law for sons-in-law(2) when judging political performance, and so the manoeuvre was in the end to no avail. [648]

The nyia kam rukatabe can also refer to a marriage which is initiated purely for the sake of marrying a woman or a girl, whose attachment to ego will obviously profit him economically. She is often wealthy herself, or is a wealthy heiress. Thus a high ranking person was observed to spend a great deal of money (this might almost be termed an "investment") for a virgin girl who was the only heir of a rich old man of lower social rank to himself. Informants described this as a true nyia kam rukatabe (marriage with a rich man's girl).

582 587 557 565 By their very nature marriages of this variety are more commonly of the virgin type. However, young girls who divorce and return to the households of their luwali, as tradition prescribes, very often can be utilized for such marriages in their second or possibly even third unions. Since high ranking women are more often in seclusion there is a greater probability that successive dispensations after div-

(1) See above; chap. III.
(2) The official records do not give the actual biological linkage of the girl to the Waziri, and it is therefore impossible to tell what kind of a ward she was in the Waziri's household.

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565 orces can be made of them, since they more often feel compelled to return to the partial seclusion of their luwali's compound, especially during their younger years. Consequently, those in higher ranks not only command higher prices for the girls they dispense, both materially and in terms of social obligations, but get more chance to dispense the same girl, given the high divorce rate. The lower class girl very often wants much more freedom in her marriage choices after her first divorce than the high ranking woman. Thus class differences make for a higher proportion of "investment material" (i.e. dispensable women) for creating obligations where they are needed most, among the upper ranks of society. It should also be remembered that upper class households tend to be larger and thus in both absolute numerical as well as in terms of more utilization being made of the same girl, the high status individual can obtain "higher returns" (more obligations and relationships) from his rights of dispensation.

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793 Nyia sada'abe - marriage of charity or gift marriage[1] is similar in many respects to the foregoing except that the person receiving the girl or young woman (more often a virgin girl) is always a mallam (Koranic teacher-priest). Informants claim that such a marriage is considered to be a charitable act (sada'a) and confers honour upon the
582 donor. In such cases much, if not all, of the gift giving by the male
793 to the girl and her kin before the marriage is waived, except that in
583 connection with the formalizing ceremony on the day of marriage. To what extent the bridewealth is excluded varies from case to case depending upon the wealth or poverty, and power of the mallam in question, and

(1) c.f. Ellison, R.E. op. cit. He calls this nyia mallambe - a marriage with a mallam. This expression was heard, although informants preferred the term used here.

582 793 583 [557] the motivations of the luwali in giving his ward. It may be that the mallam is attached to a large household organization. Then the marriage very closely resembles the previous type, except that the marriage payments to the girl's kin are reduced or waived because of the cultural definition of such a marriage as a charitable act by the wife-giver.

581 582 793 Again, a man may wish to express his gratitude to a mallam for supernatural aid in which the mallam utilized his special skills. This can result from medical aid, divination, or charms provided by the mallam. On the other hand, most individuals would be quite hesitant about refusing the request of a mallam for a girl, if such were made, because of the general awe in which he and his avowed supernatural powers are held in the public eye. For the same reason there is some anxiety connected to the giving of a girl to a mallam, for if anything should go wrong with the marriage and produce dissatisfaction on the part of the mallam, his powers of retaliation are very great.

582 793 This does not mean that mallams themselves receive all their wives through charity. One informant of about thirty years of age was a peasant mallam, who farmed and lived in Magumeri. He wrote charms for people, and officiated in a minor way at the ceremonies in his immediate ward of town. He had been married six times,almost always to one wife at a time, with the exception of about a one year period when he had two wives in his compound. Of these six marriages only one had been a nyia sada'abe (a gift marriage). He said that he preferred to obtain his wives like any other man, then he would owe no one any special obligations.

58 Nyia ardiabe (marriage by agreement) refers to marriages where the man and woman involved have a strong desire to marry one ano-

1. Age Differences

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[582]
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It is much simpler for the male to exercise control over the behaviour of very young girls, especially the young virgins of nine to thirteen years, when they are first married. This is another reason for the attractiveness of virgin marriage, for in this situation, the cultural ideal of male dominance is most possible. To a lesser extent because of the operation of other factors, large age differences between husband and wife, when the husband is the elder, make his dominant role more accessible. This is due to the general respect given to age in the society and may be one of the reasons behind the value placed upon the union of a man to a woman who is younger than himself.

2. Number of Marriages

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As a woman increases the number of her divorces and experiences progressively more independence and freedom in her zower (divorced woman) status, it becomes more and more difficult for her to assume the submissive role required of her by her culture. As we have seen the amount a male is willing to pay for a woman decreases with the number of her past divorces, for he knows she has not had a past history of long term submission to one man, but rather a series of marriages which were broken by some disagreement between her and her husband. The number of her past divorces indicates her willingness in the past to break the marriage rather than submit to her husband's will or it represents her husband's dissatisfaction with her behaviour, which also points to her inability to conform to the cultural ideal of wifely virtue. Thus the number of divorces a woman has contracted is both a measure of her desire for independence and also a stimulus to the development of more independence, rather than submissiveness.

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794 793 mitted to as a superior whose authority is unquestioned. In other cases, mallams near at hand or in the compound take up the job and the (871) child is not forced to leave home. Today there is the added possibility of receiving religious instruction in the government schools. However, this is still rare in rural areas.

591 By the age of ten or twelve years, a young Kanuri boy may have lived in quite a number of households. One informant related how he was adopted by his grandfather at weaning, given to a wandering mallam at the age of six, entered Junior Primary School as a boarder at nine, and entered the service of a District Head at the age of thirteen. This is not an extreme case, especially when the high rate of divorce is considered. Thus a young boy or girl, especially the former, can find himself in one to five or more different households or primary 591 group settings by the time he has reached early adolescence. It may 571 be proper here to ask who is the authority figure in the young child's life; who is it that in his person embodies or symbolises authority? And the answer is of fundamental importance — no one. The Kanuri child learns, whether he lives in one compound or many, that his society is a system of ranked hierarchies in which there are many people to whom he must give respect and subordination.

Puberty

561 By the end of childhood, as the Kanuri define it (which means somewhere between the ages of nine to thirteen), the sex roles and many of their accompanying behaviours have been established. From this period onward the development towards adult status is sharply dif- 881 ferentiated for males and females. Somewhere around puberty a young • 582 girl is given in virgin marriage by her father or the person who has been designated as having the power of marriage dispensation over her. Male

881 informants feel that it is better if a girl is married before she men-
582 struates and claim that religion prescribes this as the best kind of first marriage for a girl. Exceptions are, of course, quite common and not regarded as very bad as long as the girl is a "virgin" (i.e.
585 proven so on her wedding night). When she marries for the first time
[302] a girl does not automatically change her status. She is still considered a fero gana (a small girl) just as she was before marriage, and for some little time continues to wear her hair in the young girl style. As one informant put it:

[833] 881 [885] She knows nothing, she copulates yes, but takes no interest in such things, there is no pleasure in it for her. When she bleeds, then she is kamu kura (a mature woman) and she knows everything and will take pleasure from sexual intercourse. When the first blood comes the girl will feel shame and tell no one, only her close friends, who will tell her mother. Her mother will come and gather together her friends and relatives (female) and cook food and give sada'a (offerings to the poor).

885 [302] Sometime after the onset of menstruation the young girl changes her hair style to the typical and distinctive styling of the adult Kanuri woman. It is not necessary for her to become a completely different person immediately upon taking up the status of married woman. Indeed, she still retains many of her childhood friends. In a completely new locale she first obtains age-mate friends who are, as often as not, pre-pubertal children.

Over the first one or two years of marriage, young brides are more and more to be seen with the other adult women of the compound and the neighbourhood whose main activities and interests centre around marketing, cooking, obtaining water, gossiping and engaging in women's festivities. Less and less are they interested in playing and chatting with the young pre-pubertal children, whose activities become progressively remote from their own.

000 come progressively remote from their own.

548 Exceptions to the normal pattern occur. In some cases
[369] the girls become prostitutes (alangnoma), although this is more common in the urban areas where there is less visibility and higher demand for this stigmatized occupation. In Magumeri village, there was one active prostitute of whom it was said she had never been properly mar-
589 ried. Another young woman of about eighteen to twenty years had not as yet been married. In 1956, she was still wearing the small girls' hair style, which she finally changed in 1957 to that of an adult woman. Her slightly sub-normal intelligence was socially recognised, and to this characteristic was attributed her inability to obtain a husband. She was, by 1957, trying to identify herself as a zower, i.e. a divorced woman. That is to say, she declared herself openly available sexually to all males. Informants claimed that her chances of finding a husband were exceedingly slim. Another girl of fourteen or fifteen had already passed puberty and was unmarried. Rumour and gossip ran around that she was not a virgin, i.e. adult men had slept with her, and it was said that her father would have a very difficult time ever finding a husband who would take her as wife. The child seemed to be suffering increasingly from her inability to identify herself as a girl awaiting marriage or as a developing young woman which all her age-mates had by now become.

885 These exceptions exemplify a basic precept of Kanuri cul-
• 582 ture. In order to obtain a normal status in the society a female must
871 have had a first marriage in or around the time of puberty. Failure to do so inhibits her achievement of respectable adult status. This is one of the primary reasons why European Secondary education for Kanuri girls receives so much opposition from the local population. The idea

885 of any institutional prolongation of a girl's unmarried status beyond
582 puberty is regarded by the people as leading to the ruin of her normal
871 development as it is conceived in the culture. (This opposition is also exacerbated by the fear of a loss of power of dispensation over the girl by her guardian when she attends school).

881 For young boys the end of childhood and the beginning of
304 adolescence is marked by circumcision. It is apparent from the variation in age, running anywhere from seven to twelve years for the circumcision of boys, that physiological maturation has very little to do with the timing of the ceremony for any particular boy. The boy's family, especially the head of the household (usually his father), decides the issue on the basis of family readiness to perform the ceremony. Often a large group of boys, sometimes as many as thirty or forty in large towns, are cut when a leading family performs a circumcision for one of its members.

The important thing for the Kanuri is not the readiness of any particular young boy for the ceremony in terms of either his behavioural or physiological development. The deciding factor is the auspiciousness of the occasion in terms of the family's relationships with the rest of the community. Is there a large circumcision taking place this year? Have a lot of friends and relatives been asking repeatedly when little Aba is going to be circumcised? Have the household members, especially the head, attended a great many marriages, naming ceremonies, etc., of other community members and given gifts on these occasions? Is it now time to reap the benefit of all that participation by having a ceremony of one's own, to which many people will come and many gifts of goods and money will be obtained? These

882 at least one non-agricultural occupation, even if it is just the marketing of agricultural commodities as is the case with surplus producers.

882 885 562 In summary then, adolescence (in the limited sense referred to above) sharply divides male and female roles. The female has taken on her role as a married woman and it is within this status that she completes the learning of skills necessary for her adult role in society. Her status attributes may shift and change during her mature life. She may become single again (most women do), remarry, and bear children, but the framework of her adulthood is entered into at first virilocal marriage, at or before puberty. For the boy, adolescence is socially entered into at his circumcision and congeals psychologically after physiological puberty. He utilizes this period to learn the multitude of interpersonal and occupational skills which he requires as an adult, and a potential family head.

582 [561] One of the interesting functional results of having an extra age status for males only is its artificial increase in the [165] availability of women for marriage. If we consider for the sake of [162] argument that the Kanuri life span is sixty years and the ratio of men to women is roughly one to one,(1) then with women marrying roughly around the age of ten to twelve and men marrying roughly around the age of twenty to twenty-two, women are marriageable for approximately fifty and men for forty years respectively. In other words, women would be of marriageable status one-fifth longer in time relative to men.(2)

(1) Bornu Census: 1951. Males: 790, 361. Females: 805, 347.
(2) If the life span is put at a smaller figure, as it probably ought to be to correspond with the facts, then this ratio would be larger because the length of adolescence is a constant.

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This means that although the proportion of the sexes to one another is approximately equal numerically, there would be more women available for marriage than men if the society were not polygy-

121 nous. It would be interesting to check cross-culturally whether or not in monogamous societies marriage is associated more with equal ages among mates at its first inception and whether or not polygyny is also associated most often with early female and late male first marriages.

Maturity

885 The culture defines a mature man as rashidi. Ideally this connotes that he is married, is not immoderately adulterous, has a compound of his own, an occupation, the use of some land for farming, a recognized position in the community organization as the head of a compound in a ward, or hamlet, a degree of independence which includes the right to move to another community if he wishes, and if he has children, the label is even more applicable. Thus rashidi as a status implies the values which the culture places upon adult male life. It is therefore not only a description of a man's age status, but an evaluation of his accompliahments and behaviour as an adult male in relation to the value system of the culture.

[184] A few informants, notably higher ranking people, felt that a man should be over 30-35 years of age before he could be defined as rashidi. Most others were more inclined to disregard the age criteria and claim that any man who had been married was a rashidi.

[831] When a young man is divorced and has no other wives, or even if he is married but is known to be especially attentive to other women he is jokingly referred to as zairo (any person who has not been married,

121 and complexity of stratification.(1) Or to put it another way, these differences are quantitative not qualitative.

The concept of class is restricted in its application to societies having greater ranges and more dimensions of stratification, either through conquest(s) or peaceful elaboration and differentiation. The chief characteristics of class are, (1) its somewhat distinctive style of life within the overall culture of the society, and (2) the differential rankings accorded to class status as a rank among others within the total society.

Of the two concepts, class and stratification, it is felt [829] here that the latter is the more useful. The Kanuri, themselves, recognize classes in their society but, unless the dimensions of stratification are thoroughly understood, the differentiation of Kanuri society is a mystery, which the class concept alone cannot penetrate.

The Dimensions of Stratification

Tribal Membership

829 The Kanuri, like many other peoples all over the world, take a great pride in their culture, its religion, language, social organ- 582 ization, and its history, some of which is known by everyone. As far as 563 191 can be reported without any precise measurement the tribe is largely endogamous,(2) although there is more inter-tribal marriage in the capital where language barriers count for less because of the growing use of Hausa as well as Kanuri.

829 There is a value placed upon a platonic or ideal quality of

(1) cf. Smith, M.G., On Segmentary Lineage Systems, op. cit. He does the same thing in his analysis of state and stateless societies.

(2) In Magumeri among approximately seventy households, there were six marriages of men or women which included non-Kanuri spouses. One of these was of a recent Muslim convert to a Kanuri woman, another was of a pagan man with two rather pariah Kanuri women, while the rest were all between non-Kanuri Muslims.

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[565] only the upper classes can afford to maintain and enforce such a relationship. The remaining categories can be regrouped under two headings.

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557 Firstly, there are marriages in which a man obtains a wife by virtue of his relationship to an extended household organization and its head. The household head uses his luwali role (and in some cases his influence over other luwali) either to strengthen or create
[582] obligatory relationships with other men. In some cases these unions take the form of cousin marriages (nyia durbe). In others, they merely emphasize already existing superior/subordinate relationships, while in still others, they serve as the initiating circumstance for an attempt
[583] at such a relationship. As we have seen, gift marriage (nyia sada'abe) in which a girl is given to a Koranic mallam also entails the mutual understanding of an obligatory, subordination by the Mallam to the luwali.

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[584] Secondly, in marriages of agreement (nyia ardiabe) and discovery (nyia kolatabe), the major arrangements are made between the man and the woman alone without recourse or subordination to a household head. These marriages illustrate the adaptation of marriage arrangements to the realities of Kanuri social life. Given the large population and the high divorce rate it is not possible of feasible for all weddings to function as mechanisms for strengthening and creating superior-subordinate relationships. And so this second variety of marriage arrangement operates because many women, especially as they grow older, are not willing to be pawns used for the purpose of defining relationships between men. By the same token, many are not willing to become obligated to others through marriage.

858 is considered too young to understand that it must not do this or that. Its primary task is to survive and feed at the breast while becoming identified as a new member in its immediate society.

867 After weaning (and perhaps adoption) the steady, inexorable process of socialization training is applied to the child. This childhood training teaches the young Kanuri slowly but with ever increasing emphasis the central importance of the behaviour norm. Especially is this true of bərzum (discipline-respect) whose necessity and moral primacy the growing child is taught to understand and utilize. This means that the child is taught to shift and extend the culturally prescribed modes of behaviour from one situation to another, and from person to person. From the point of view of the individual, childhood
867 training results in a picture of society. Of major importance in this
571 picture or image of society is its personal diffuseness. The person learns that there is not necessarily a final or definite locus of power and authority residing in any particular person. Instead there is rank and status, and the individual learns to respond in a culturally prescribed fashion to many combinations and permutations of these role characteristics by applying the proper behaviour norms. This, in turn, prepares the individual to live in the adult world of Kanuri social relations in which there are multitudes of ranks to which he may be called upon to react.

561 By the end of childhood, as the Kanuri define it, which
867 means somewhere between the ages of nine to thirteen, the sex roles
882 and many of the accompanying behaviours have been learned. From this period onward, the development towards adult status is sharply dif-
[582] ferentiated for males and females. Girls enter into their first marriage at this time, while boys begin the occupational training that

882 will lead them to their adult roles in the socio-economic structure of
582 the society. Since boys do not marry until the end of this period, first marriages are much later for males as compared to females.

885 By maturity, the Kanuri mean several things. For a man it means that he is married, has a compound of his own, an occupation, the use of some land for farming, a recognized position in the community organization as the head of a household and some degree of independence. When some of these social attributes are lacking the person often refers to himself as a "small boy" no matter what his age. There is no one status term meaning maturity for females, although terms exist which define her status as a woman who has had a child or not, as middle aged, and so on.

888 Old age for women often means dependence upon her sons if she has any, plus some petty trade in order to help sustain herself economically. For men, old age can be viewed on a continuum running from the one pole of successful seniority achieved or ascribed during life, to its opposable and supportative complement, subordination. Some achieve their seniority, others support this achievement by acting as subordinates, sometimes only as stepping stones to their own growth in seniority, or at other times, as a life goal in itself. However, it should be remembered that all men, even the Shehu, are in some sense subordinate in the total social structure.

56 The discussion of stratification has been organized within a theoretical framework in which the complex differentiation of Kanuri society is classified into status dimensions. These are sets of agreed upon rankings of persons within some specified area of behaviour. For the present discussion the status dimensions of ethnic membership, occupation, birth ascription, wealth, and rural/urban status, have been considered in some detail.